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"Without A People's Army, The People Have Nothing."

CHAIRMAN MAO-- PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA



THIS POSTER WAS DONE BY YOUNG 15 YEAR
OLD REVOLUTIONARY SISTER LYNN CELESTE.

THE POWER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Cec Levinson

It is an indisputable fact that the Black Colony confined within the boundries of these less-than-united-states, in fighting for its own liberation from imperialist oppression is leading the movement for basic economic and political change which will ultimately free the entire working class. Today, in this historical period, the Black Panther Party has proven, by its phenomenal growth, by the acceptance of its program by a growing segment of the Black population, that it is the emerging political leader of the Black Colony, which signifies that it is providing the leadership of the revolutionary forces in this country.

I, a white revolutionary, if I am to be true to my ideals and stated goals, must accept the leadership of the accepted leader of the revolutionary forces, the Black Panther Party.

Why am I so sure that the Panther Party has the correct program for today's struggle against U.S. imperialism? The effectiveness of a political program lies in its value as proven in day-to-day testing in the community, in its acceptance by an ever-increasing number of the people it is designed to lead; both of which assure its ultimate victory. We cannot, of course, prove an "ultimate victory", but we can attempt to determine whether we're heading in that direction.

In building a revolution, there are 2 essentials; to organize for the attainment of the immediate needs of the working people and the constant developing of a revolutionary consciousness toward that inevitable day when we'll destroy this monstrous capitalistic power structure and begin building a socialistic-people's world. What is needed is a reconciliation of tactics (the daily struggle for immediate gains) and theory (knowledge that no basic change in the class structure will be achieved under capitalism, that a revolution must be fought.) It is evident from studying the history of organizations and political parties born during the last century, that continuing struggles on both levels is difficult. Every group, to my knowledge, conceived in this country with revolutionary objectives has either fallen into the capitalistic abyss of reformism and been drowned in the infected mire of attempting to "make it" in this decaying system - (actually, the "leaders" "make it" while the late membership is left to float about looking for another base, or just to forget it) - or the entire group has been left out in the vacuum of revolutionary rhetoric; isolation from the people.

The Communist Party of the U.S. is a classic example of revolutionary beginnings. It was the first to recognize the colonial status of Black people, calling for self-determination for what it termed The Negro Nation in the Black Belt of the south. It was only half a theory, failing to encompass the entire Black Colony spread throughout the many states in the swelling urban ghettoes of the north, but it did recognize the innate colonial super-exploitation by the white power structure. It knew the need and carried forth a program to organize southern share-croppers and tenant-farmers in their desperate need for land. Many communists were killed in attempting to organize the miners (Joe Hill, the poet who sang, "Don't mourn for me. Organize!") and workers in other basic industries in the south. Above all, the CPUSA recognized the international character of anti-imperialistic struggle and many of them fought and died in the Spanish Civil War, anticipating, correctly the rise of fascism in Europe should Franco succeed in overthrowing the then democratic Spanish government. The CP was the foremost fighter for Black studies and, most basic of all, understood the need for a black-white labor coalition. However, and sadly because this is the barest outline of a proud, heroic history, somewhere along the road of fighting for these necessary and immediate demands, many U.S. communists got trapped in the capitalistic bag of profit-making and became themselves, the exploiters, now engaging in reformist activity, if any at all. Unlike other organizations, it wasn't the leaders, most of whom had been born of the working class and strengthened through union organizing in steel mills and coal mines and southern agriculture, who turned tail on their revolutionary objectives. The CP itself recognized the futility of all this in 1948 with its support of the Progressive Party.

There are exceptions, and the Panthers have among today's CPers, many active and/or verbal - mostly Black - supporters. Perhaps the most notable is the great lawyer William Patterson, defender of the Scottsboro Boys and writer of the original WE CHARGE GENOCIDE petition presented to the United Nations in 1951. And the communists had on an international as well as a local level something else we must all learn, an essential factor lacking among U.S. "revolutionists" of today without which there will be no revolution. There was always, a deep, real, penetrating feeling of brotherhood between them, and an ever-present love for the people with whom they worked. It was this feeling of being needed, of belonging, generated particularly from the leadership in working class areas that propelled the Party through the horror of the McCarthy period. We all need to feel useful, if not vital to the movement; fighting alone is insanity and leads towards emotional, sometimes, physical death.

But perhaps the other end of the rope (used by the enemy to hang dissenters) is more meaningful, closer to us active in the movement today. Here we find dangling several ghostly illusions: organizations replete with those who scream REVOLUTION with every breath but who have so alienated themselves from the people as to have become virtually ineffective. The Yippies are a prime example. They are dedicated, I am sure, to their cause; they appear ready, at a moment's notice - to sacrifice years in prison, perhaps their lives. But we don't need any more headline-making martyrs. (Self-sacrifice is often necessary to provide the initial impetus for a movement. It is sometimes true that people will act only in the aftermath of horror, if they are not completely immobilized). But today, we need organizers: doorbell-ringing, sidewalk pounding, people-loving organizers.

It is essential that we know our enemy and understand fully the strategy it employs to sabotage our revolutionary efforts. The ruling class pursues a razor-sharp, double-edged policy of counter-insurgency: on one jagged side, there are concessions - to encourage reformism; on the other, repression - to discourage rebellion.

The first weapon is used primarily in three traditional ways: tokenism to the Black bourgoise, financial crumbs to the upper strata of the working class, the skilled workers, and a constant attempt to buy off militant leaders. In the last several years - in the aftermath of the southern student demonstrations and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's state-wide organizing and challenge at the National Democratic Convention in 1964 - a 4th, most insidiously clever method has appeared and thrived to such an extent as to have stifled much revolutionary activity. This is the infamous Poverty Program in all its varied forms and hundreds of initialled extremeties. But whatever the initials, wherever it shows its sneering grin, it has but one purpose: to buy the people's souls in a compromise with capitalism: to keep them so busy attending endless, meaningless meetings, "skill center" classes which end where they began - no jobs, and the people fighting among themselves for these sometimes lucrative, most often, peanuts - positions: so busy, there is no time for appraisal of the busyness, let alone revolutionary study or activity. This is the only country in the world with the financial resources to fight for its life by throwing bones to thousands of its citizens. (Think of the schools we could build, the food we could buy, the jobs we could guarantee dividing up the $70 million plus flushed down the Oakland drain every year!) This is the fattest, deadliest saboteur we have to combat. It is imperative that the message get to the people: Take the money - Hell, Yes! Let it pay the rent and buy food and clothes and movies and scotch, but not your souls! Take the money. Fight the source!

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Harassment As Usual In Miss.

JACKSON, Miss. (LNS) --Jackson has never been an easy place to be a black militant, or a black non-militant, for that matter. Several recent incidents there indicate that police and F.B.I. are continuing a concerted attack on black people's movements for liberation.

Muhammed Kenyatta is a teacher at the Black and Proud School and an organizer of black awareness projects at Tougaloo College and in the Georgetown community in Jackson. Shortely after he spoke at a rally on Feb. 6, he narrowly escaped death when shots were fired through the front windows of his car. Tougaloo College officials claimed that the shooting was in response to the attempted robbery of a men' dorm and filed attempted robbery charges against Kenyatta. Kenyatta voluntarily turned himself in to the police, as "an expression of my belief that my innocence will be proved." Students at Tougaloo are campaigning to have the case tried by the student body rather than by the white judge in Madison County.

The rally at which Kenyatta spoke was part of an effort to get a black studies program at Tougaloo. Tougaloo has a history of white liberal teachers and administrators controlling a black student body. Last year, when students' demands for a black-oriented social science curriculum and more black professors were refused, students boycotted classes and threatened to burn down the building which contains the offices of the faculty and administration. The students won a partial victory, but part of the building they threatened was recently gutted in an unexplained fire.

Howard Spencer, director of the Black and Proud liberation School and the Jackson Human Rights Project has been constantly harassed by groups of white men identifying themselves as F.B.I. agents. Recently, Jackson police singled him out in a bar and charged him with drunkeness, possession of marijuana, and possession of a concealed weapon. Spencer says the arrest was a frame-up and part of a pattern of police action against him because of his activities.

Despite threats from the cops, an educational campaign in support of Spencer and Muhammad Kenyatta is being conducted in the black community in Jackson. In response, 50 cops and 49 vehicles have been added to the score patrolling Jackson's black community.

Teen Black Girl Faces Execution

Special to the Daily World

ROCKY MOUNT, N.C., Jan. 1-- Date of execution of Marie Hill, a 17-year-old black Rocky Mount girl, set for Jan. 3, has been automatically delayed pending the outcome of an appeal by Vinson Bridgers, her court-appointed attorney.

The teen-age girl was railroaded under dubious circumstances to the North Carolina gas chamber Dec. 19 on charges of murdering W. E. Strum, a 65-year-old white merchant, during a robbery on Oct. 7. The jury was out for less than an hour.

The trial was held in Tarboro, the county seat, with Judge George M. Fountain, presiding.

The all-male jury failed to recommend mercy, which would have automatically made the sentence life imprisonment. Miss Hill had pleaded not guilty to first degree murder. Four members of the jury were black.

Arrested in Kingstree, S.C. on Oct. 25, where she was visiting relatives, Miss Hill was brought back to Rocky Mount by members of the local police department to whom she allegedly confessed. She showed no emotion during the trial.

The prosecution is attempting to implicate three other teen-age girls as accessories, Mamie Higgs, Carolyn Fox and Bussie Wilkins, who lived in the vicinity of Strum's store.

Because the State Prison in Raleigh is not prepared to handle women sentenced to death, Miss Hill has been placed in a security cell at the Women's Division of the prison which is also located in Raleigh.

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The Power of the Black Panther Party

When all these tranquilizing methods fail, there are the ever-ready methods of repression: Harrassment. Terror. Prison. Murder. Both sides of the knife work, to an increasing degree due to the Poverty Program in the Black community; to a strangulating degree in the white community. There, their lives - their minds - are bound so tightly to the capitalistic soul-shrinking system that they can see no other possibility, and as revolutionary orientation is practically non-existent, education and propaganda are the current requisites. We must convince them that the present system is incurably felonous and that a better one is possible. I think that the Oakland 7 in amassing the support they did for Stop The Draft Week and the work they have carried on since their arrests have been of tremendous educational value against the system; showing its corrupt officialdom in all its treachery. As a matter of history, this past year has provided numerous educational shocks for the untutored white Northamerican populace. In Chicago, Mayor Daley matriculated many an unschooled liberal (and reluctant conservative) into courses on fascism; and the students, notably at Columbia, S.F. State and most recently, Berkeley, in their courageous confrontations with the domestic military arm of imperialism have made invaluable contributions to the anti-establishment education of white America.

But there has never been an organization that could build a revolutionary movement BY WAY OF fighting on issues vital to the day-to-day survival of the working class. What must be done is to carry on continuous struggles, through which the people learn, become politically mature and thereby more revolutionary; struggles that accomplish many little changes (Marx called them "quantitative changes"), the fighting for which forges the mighty hurricane of which Huey speaks, the People's Revolutionary Army, which in fulfilling its destiny, achieves the "qualitative change", the Revolution.

(TO BE CONTINUED: In the next issue, I will attempt to prove why I believe the BPP can fulfill this double role.)

Cops Bust Mississippi Muslims

MERIDIAN, Miss. (LNS) -- In Meridian, the cops recently used a search warrant for marijuana as an excuse to break into a residence where they suspected that a Black Muslim mosque was being organized. Although the cops found no marijuana, they imprisoned eight people for "investigation" and confiscated a quantity of Muslim literature. Religious freedom only applies to white in Meridian and cops feel free to break into private homes, confiscate private property, and imprison citizens who are legally exercising their first amendment rights.

Feature Article:



BLACK CAPITALISM AND WHAT IT MEANS

By Landon Williams

While reading the paper the other day, I saw where Oakland has been made a target area for tricky Dick Nixon's BLACK CAPITALISM PLAN. It seems to me that a further analysis of capitalism in general and black capitalism in particular seems to be forthcoming. (When we check the history of various countries on this planet we find that many nations and races have gone through a capitalistic bag. When we check Russian history we find that with the ending of the rule of the Czar, Russian capitalism came to an end. When we check the history of China and yellow capitalism we find that with the coming to power of Mao Tse-tung and the communist party of China, that feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism to which the yellow people in China were subjected had been crushed. When we check the history of other countries that have gone capitalistic, such as India and brown capitalism, we find that today India is in a constant state of turmoil.

I think that in viewing capitalist countries we should take into consideration the basic drives, motivations and the fundamental reasons for the things that occur in capitalistic countries. For instance, in checking the economy we find that in capitalistic countries a high unemployment rate, sometimes 10%-15%, is not something spectacular, but rather that in order for a capitalist country to maintain a balanced economy this type of unemployment rate is essential as a check on inflation. In further checking on capitalism and how it is related to black people in this country, if we want to find out what capitalism has in store for us all we have to do is look around and dig on our present situation because the conditions that black people are in in this country is directly due to capitalism and the exploitation that we have suffered at the hands of the racist capitalist ruling classes here in racist America. We find that during the days of the slave trade, capitalist merchants along this country's Eastern sea-board got filthy rich off of the blood, the tears and the sweat of black people who were transported in the bottoms of ships, packed like sardines, to this racist decadent country to work and slave and die in the fields to build this country.

Capitalism, as we all know, inorder to exist must have something or someone to exploit. What we have here in America is super capitalism, super exploitation; trinkets and beads are being sold to the people for exorbitantly high prices. In dealing with black capitalism or the little of it that we have experienced in this country by checking J. A. Rogers 100 AMAZING FACTS ABOUT THE NEGRO we find that prior to the civil war there were small black capitalists in this country. These black capitalists to a certain extent enjoyed some of the benefits and privileges of this country insofar as they were called freemen and as such they could own slaves and property. In checking through history we find that most of these freedmen or miniature black capitalists had no concern or feeling whatsoever for the rest of their black brothers and sisters and in many instances they were more brutal than the white slavemasters and blamed their brothers for keeping them from enjoying all the fruits of the white capitalist class. During the civil war when the North and the South supposedly fought to free the slaves we find that some of these black capitalists in fact fought on the side of the confederacy to help maintain the exploitation over their black brothers. So when black people begin to see words such as capitalism it should appall them.

You see, we've been trained in this country so that whenever we see the word communist, for instance, most black people will be startled but yet they see the word capitalism and it more or less doesn't phase them at all. They just continue on, it's just an everyday word, it's something that they've come up around. But I think that if black people would stop and really check out that word capitalism and what capitalism means on an everyday basis, they would begin to be appalled by the word. Myself, when I saw this thing Oakland being target of black capitalism to me that was a very very terrifying thing because like I've said we've had examples of what capitalism has done.

Black people in this country must begin to form the correct concepts in their minds when they hear the word capitalism. In this country in schools the little training they do give us when they deal with America or capitalism they deal with democratic capitalism and they teach you about the democracy and not about the capitalism. The results are that when black people see the words "Oakland is in on black capitalism" immediately stanzas of the star spangled banner begin to play through their heads and they see the flag waving when what they should be seeing is the napalming of people of color in Viet Nam and the murder of Che Guevara in Bolivia by racist U.S. C.I.A. agents. Also when we think about capitalism we should think about our brothers and sisters in the Congo. There's a pamphlet called REVOLUTION IN THE CONGO which every black person in America should read and you will find out how capitalism operates. For instance when the U.S. intervened in the Congo and Patrice Lumumba, the people's choice for Premier, was murdered by that traitorous dog Tshombe who was a running dog for the U.S. and Belgian capitalists, and that fine liberal Kennedy. At the time of the U.S. intervention there were large copper mines in Katanga and other provinces in the Congo. There's a firm in the U.S. called Kennecot mines and they control most of the world's supply of copper. Well, at the time of the Congo intervention the supply of copper had begun to outstrip the demand and the price of copper had begun to drop. Well, these capitalists who sit up and control Chase Manhattan Bank and other large banks and industries made millions selling excess U.S. 10,000 lb. bombs to bomb the mining industry and the people of the Congo into rubble, thus beating down the competition.

In America today the capitalist businessman and landlord exploits you at the store and home and then at the same time he goes to church and covers his big hypocritical pork chop ass down and talks about brotherhood and do unto others as you would have them do unto you. And when you ask him how does he justify the cutthroat business practices he indulges in, he gives you the simple phrase that business is business. Well, I think we should take a very close look at just what is capitalist business. As I said in the Congo it consisted of dropping 10,000 lb. bombs on black people there. Peter as well the capitalist in this country who ran the junk yards were making millions of dollars by selling scrap iron and steel to the Japanese imperialists who were waging an un-

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BLACK CAPITALISM MEANS CONTINUING EXPLOITATION

just war of aggression against the Chinese people. Public opinion was very much against this practice. But again the excuse, "business is business" was used.

In the realm of competition the capitalist in this country moves in many ways. With the onset of W W II thousands of our yellow brothers were incarcerated in so-called detention camps which were nothing but concentration camps. The reason given for their imprisonment they were a security threat but rather American racism and American capitalism. The racism was clearly shown by the fact that hundreds of thousands of German and Italian nationals were not incarcerated but were instead allowed to run free to sabotage America's war effort.

The Japanese at that time owned considerable rice lands in California; in fact they had the entire rice trade upright. We find however that when they were moved on they were forced to sell out at ridiculous prices and in many cases their land was just taken from them -- again, business is business. So you can see that they were incarcerated for racist motives and capitalist motives. Going back further and checking out the history of this country we find that after the civil war was over black people in this country were promised forty acres and two mules by the Freedman's Bureau. When we check through history we find out just who got the forty acres and two mules. When we check we find that the large capitalist industries such as Standard Oil got the land. Standard Oil got my forty acres and my two mules. To them though this was just business. Again the massacre of the Indians or Manifest Destiny, that the white man glorifies. Malcolm X said that if you had to rely on your enemy for a job you were in bad shape. It also holds true that if you have to rely on your enemy for information you're in bad shape. Black people must begin to form the proper concepts of just what capitalism is and just what it's all about so that they can begin to deal with the situation in the correct way.

We find, again in checking history, that when capitalists move they move in very devilish, underhanded ways in order to control and manipulate the governments and the people throughout the world. In taking again the example of the Congo they used their favorite gimmick, the phony communist conspiracy type plot, and they said that Lumumba was a pro-communist and that Tshombe was pro-West. Again this is just a trick, a guise or deception that the capitalists use to cover up their filthy underhanded dealings.

In China it was the same thing. When the U.S. was supporting the pirate Chiang Kai-shek's regime, they said that Chairman Mao Tse-tung was pro-communist and that Chiang Kai-shek was pro-West. At that time black people in this country generally accepted that without looking into it further and seeing just what did it mean to be pro-communist or pro-West. On deeper examination of the facts we find that the pirate Chiang Kai-shek who was pro-West was also pro-capitalist and pro-exploitation, while Mao Tse-tung who was pro-communist was pro the people and pro-peasants. On the one hand you had Chiang Kai-shek who robbed from the people and was a tool that U.S. imperialism used to help maintain its dominance and exploitation over the Chinese people while Chairman Mao ple in control of the economy and wealth of the country and the rest of the people were starving. They used to show pictures of China on a TV program called th Twentieth Century. They showed movies of China before and during its revolutionary war. They used to show the filthy rich and the warlords who plundered the Chinese countryside getting richer and richer while the peasants who were very poor, were getting poorer and poorer. Here again the landlords were pro-western or pro-capitalist and the peasants were pro-communist or pro-eastern. When we check this situation out, we find that it is not just a coincidence that in all the countries that have moved to gain their national liberation and 'self-determination' that the people there are moving away from capitalistic stands and towards socialistic or communistic stands. The people in these countries when they begin to fight to control their own destinies realize that as long as the power remains vested in the hands of a few capitalists or in the hands of an exploitative capitalistic class then the people will never gain any people's powers.

When we move closer to home and move up in date we can check out the situation in Latin America and we see the same thing occurring that occurred in China and Russia. The all of Latin America is made into a private reserve for the capitalist in America. If you look at Latin America you'll see that before Fidel Castro and the Cuban people took over power in Cuba the power was vested in the hands of Batista. Now, Batista was nothing but a puppet or a tool of U.S. imperialism and U.S. capitalism. At nal act against the Cuban people which like all the other capitalist plots is bound to fail. The U.S. economic blockade of Cuba.

Moving again closer to home we find that here in our black communities if black people want examples of what capitalism is and what its effects are all they have to do is look around in the various prisons and jails. It's not just a coincidence that in all colonies and semi-colonies you have a so-called high crime rate. The rate is directly to the exploitation and oppression by the ruling capitalist class. The crime rate and prostitution rate in our communities is due directly to poor education, poor housing, poor clothing, no jobs, and an ever present hungry stomach. These things again are directly attributed to capitalism and exploitation. The ghettoes in this country are not here by accident. They're a place where a readily available source of cheap manpower can be dumped and stored until it is needed and as a market place for dumping billions of dollars worth of inferior goods and corrupt services. So the ghettoes here in America are not here by accident. They're set up and maintained by capitalists in this country for a specific purpose and design.

Again checking history we find that in the days of slavery there were two classifications. There was the field nigger and there was the house nigger. The field niggers have always outnumbered the house niggers, but the house niggers have worked in conjunction with the slavemaster to help maintain the oppression of their black brothers and sisters. Today we find that these black capitalists that are being set table to the people.

Checking around we find that Premier Thieu and Vice-President Ky of South Viet Nam are in the positions of house niggers. They are house niggers of Viet Nam. Of the money, prestige and power that rest in their hands little if any of it ever reached down to the people. In China it was the same way. Chiang Kai-shek who was nothing more than a Chinese house nigger, a Chinese capitalist. None of the money and power that was vested in his hands got down to the masses of the Chinese people. All they ever got was the iron boot and the clubs and bullets from Chiang Kai-shek's bandit troops. When we check Cuba the same situation existed. Batista, who was another house nigger, all the people ever got from him was surplus 10,000 lb. bombs and U.S. airforce napalm. And in this country black capitalists have the same positions as the Batista's and the Chiang Kai-shek's and the house niggers of American slavery. Of the scraps that are given to them few, if any of them, ever find their way down to the starving masses of people.

So what black people have to realize is that anything that the enemy offers you as a solution to your problem is not correct because your enemy will never give you anything that will aid you in defeating him. What we must do is to make our own definitions and analysis of the situation in order to come up with solutions that will concretely deal with the problem confronting us. In the BLACK PANTHER PARTY we have a plank of our 10-point platform that specifically deals with capitalism. Point No. 3 "We want an end to the rob-



on TV was nothing but "business is business."

The white capitalist in this country, the mining industries, the oil companies, and the land barons who expected to set up their own small kingdoms, these warlords in America in order to gain more land would instigate incidents with the Indians so that they could call in the U. S. cavalry and Army and thereby rob the Indians of more land, the reason again given us was that "business is business." So that cutthroat competition and that steady drive for self-attainment and personal satisfaction that is preached in capitalist countries, Black people must begin to understand what it's all about. When we go down to the corner store and we find that we're being charged the highest prices for the lowest grades of meat and in many instances the meat is old and rotten. We should begin to form concepts of what capitalism means in a for real, day-to-day basis. Black people run up against this every day.

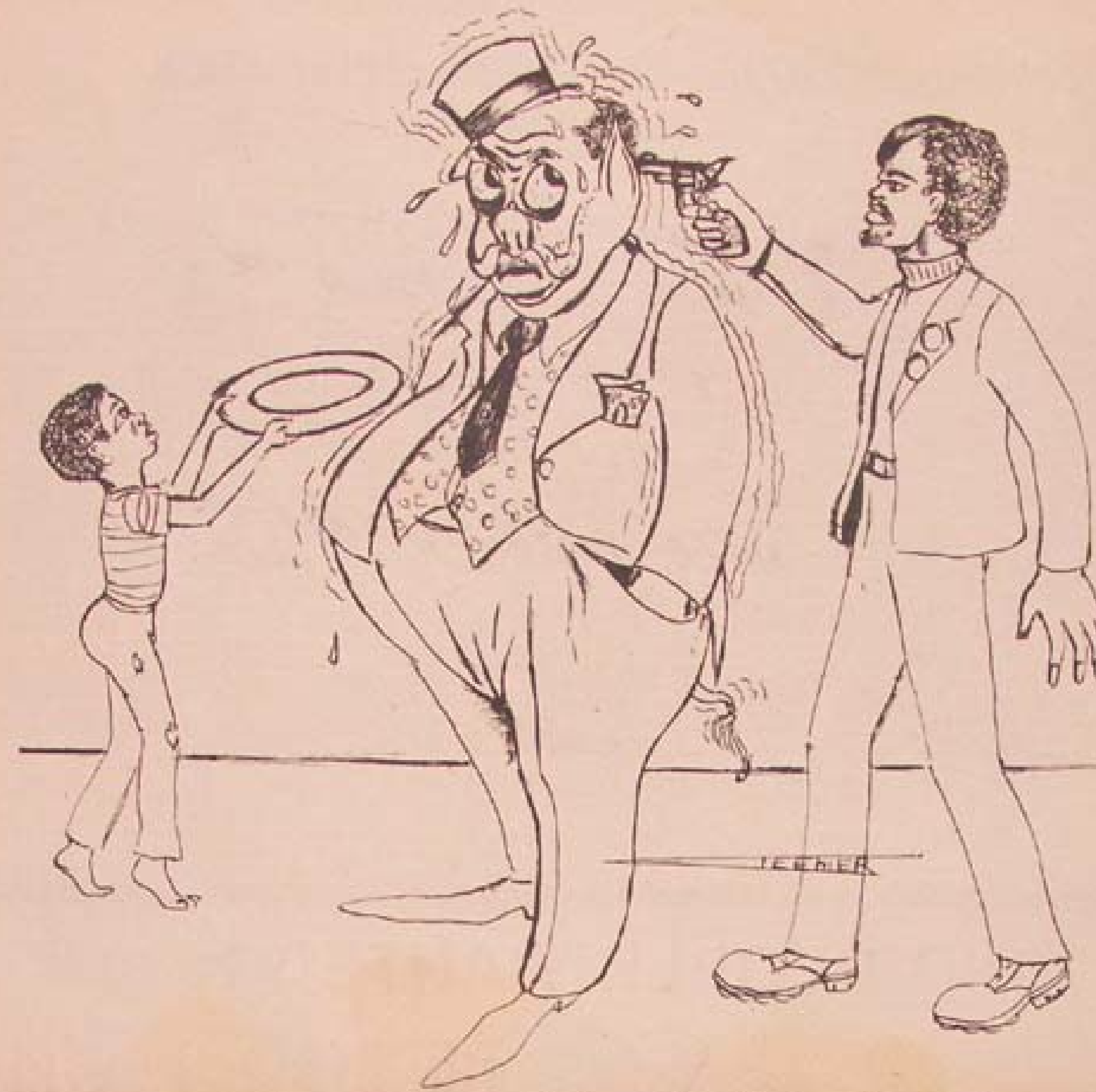
What has capitalism meant to the vast majority of the peoples of the world? I think that is a question we should be asking ourselves. When we look around we find that the countries where the capitalist in America get most of their resources from, these colonies and semi-colonies that are called the underdeveloped countries of the world. When we look at them we find that there they have the highest infant mortality and death rates in the world and the lowest standards of living. Why is it like that? Black people cannot accept what our enemy tells us as being all inclusive. Mal- and the communist party of China were fighting for people, power and an end to the exploitation of the people.

We see this same trick today in the news when J. Edgar Hoover says that the Black Panther Party is a threat to the security of the U.S. and that we study from the Red Book and that we are pro-communist -- just what kind of threat did he mean and what is the Red Book? On examination we find that the primary objective of the Black Panther Party is "To establish revolutionary political power for BLACK PEOPLE." And that among the principles we study in the red book are such principles as "without a people's army the people have nothing." Huey P. Newton our founder and Minister of Defense has said, "A people who are unarmed are either slaves or subject to slavery at any time." We know that it is only because the people are unarmed and unorganized that the racist pigs are able to ride roughshod over them.

Whenever we check out a capitalist situation we find the same thing. Earlier I mentioned Czarist Russia; well, if you check out history you'll find that the Czar and the capitalist regime in Russia was ruled and dominated by a few people. You had the filthy rich on the top along with the nobility and the inner circles of the Czarist regime. You had the peasants who were starving, the masses of the people on the bottom. When you check out Chinese history the same situation applied. In the Congo before Lumumba came to power and then after he was assassinated again you had a few peo- the Hotel Havana Hilton, the rich decadent capitalist pigs of the U.S. used to come to bask in the sun and to carry on "their decadent sexual practices and other perversions." In Bob Dylan's record, "Ballad of the Thin Man" and Mr. Jones. It says that Mr. Jones went to a freak show and paid his money to go in and see the Geak and the Geak was eating raw meat on a bone. Well the Geak gave the bone to Mr. Jones and said "How does it feel to be a freak?" Well, on examination of that we find that what the Geak meant was that he was there eating the raw meat because that was the only way he could survive; but Mr. Jones, who in this case would be the capitalist class in America, was the real freak because he was paying to see someone perform these types of acts. Well, in Cuba, before the power was wrested away from U.S. imperialism and its running dogs, all of Havana was one big U.S. playpen.

The capitalists in this country created mass prostitution, homosexuality and organized crime with their filthy contamination. When Fidel Castro moved and took the power out of the hands of the U.S. capitalist and gave it back to the people we find that U.S. capitalism reacted in a very violent way. Batista was backed to the hilt and excess U.S. 10,000 lb. bombs were sold to Batista and dropped on the Cuban people. Later the U.S. instigated, financed, organized, and backed the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba that was crushed by the heroic Cuban people's Army. Today, more than a decade later, we find that U.S. capitalism is engaged in another crimi- up and fostered by Nixon and the capitalist ruling circles in this country are nothing but the modern day counterparts of the old house niggers, and where the house Negro would get the scraps off of the master's plate, these black capitalists will get the scraps off of these racist white capitalists' plates. To take a particular case in point, we have the example of the Negro who owns the Rainbow Car Wash in East Oakland who says that the only thing that will save the black race is for it to become like the white race and that black people are inferior to white people. We can see just how far a perversion this quest for the scraps from the master's table can become. Also we have the fools who backed Wallace in this last presidential election. In the Bible there is a parable that closely relates to what we are talking about where Christ talked about a crawling Lazarus begging at the gate. This is the same thing as these so-called black capitalists who are begging the white man to let them into the system of exploitation instead of rising up and destroying the very system of exploitation and thereby ridding themselves once and for all of this problem. The slavemaster who in this case is the modern day capitalist is no fool and as long as he could get by without giving up anything he didn't give anything up. Now that black people have increased their cry for justice and freedom and begun to consciously wage guerrilla warfare the capitalist ruling classes in this country who are just world-wide slavemasters, have moved to offer scraps from their bery by the white man of our black community." When we say this we mean that we want an end to all types of robbery. And end to the robbery of our youth by sending them off 8,000 miles to be murdered and butchered and used as cannon fodder to help sustain a war of imperialist aggression. An end to the robbery and destruction of our children's minds by racist schools and administrations. And end to the robbery and rape of our sisters' bodies by racist capitalist perverts who don't deserve to be called males. An end to the robbery of black men of action by murder and imprisonment on down to the co-opting of so-called black leadership by plans such as Nixon's black capitalist plan.

The Black Panther Party is a party that is determined to move by any means necessary to obtain good ends. We in the Black Panther Party refuse to be fooled by the word "Black." We realize that capitalism, bureaucratic capitalism as it exists in the world today right now here is our main enemy, and no matter what color prefix you put on it, it still comes out the same. Just as bloody and just as vile as ever. And when we think about capitalism we immediately get frames of reference of napalm and jets in Viet Nam, C.I.A. murders in the Congo and Bolivia, racist pigs, U.S. paratroopers, and national guard troops running amuck in the black community, and the peoples of the world being murdered. If black people indeed need some outside direction on how to deal with capitalism let us look to the valiant Vietnamese for the proper types of examples.



The Avaricious Businessmen Must Return their Looted Profits to the People. Breakfast for Children Is One Of the Means.

Vallejo Church Rejects Breakfast For Children

As everyone well knows the Black Panther Party is sponsoring a Free Breakfast for Children to be held throughout the country.

But as everyone also knows every time the Black Panther Party takes a lead in serving the needs and desires of the Black community, villainousness attempts are made to hinder our efforts. More and more we begin to see the rise of a new deceiver in the struggle. In this case, the Black, Black, Black petty bourgeoisie that calls us brother on one hand and is the arch of arch deceivers on the other hand. The Vallejo Chapter of the Black Panther Party is in the midst of starting their Free Breakfast for Children, to be held in the community of Country Club Crest. Here again we have to deal with this brother tom, lover of the MANS-kind and who cares little or nothing about the hunger sensations of Black children in the community in which he lives and has a $80,000 church. On the other hand he sells cars for Lang and Webb, one of the largest dealerships in town. (Cadillacs & Pontiacs). Preacher McGrue, practitioner for pig capitalism and teacher of peaceful suffering (hunger) has projected himself as a saint among man, even having a street in the community of approximately 7,000 people, named after him. (McGrue Street). Mr. McGrue must be exposed to the people as a Black avaricious fool, who has turned his back to the Black community by denying use of his church, a place for the breakfast site. Then perhaps the people and the lord will investigate the motives of this avaricious agent of the gospel. This jive preacher refuses to let hungry children break bread in the lords domain, He is a mirror of the reprobative individualistic capitalist. Imagine a minister of the house of the lord stating that "my own kids have plenty to eat and other parents can do the same thing." The only reason is, he has a good disguise, as minister of the lord and servant of the people.

The Black Panther Party, through study and investigation sees this man as an avaricious fool, exploiting the name of the lord as well as in the name of the MAN. Such inhuman people as this must be exposed and opposed. We recognize the conditions of this community as the same as a million others. We also recognize that this type of front man for the avaricious businessman is as much the initiator and practitioner of the exploitive conditions as the pig himself. The Black Panther Party will not allow this man to let Black children go to school hungry or underfed because of his selfishness or any other avaricious christian hypocrite selfishness. The community will and must survive the stupidity of such fools.

Brother Jymbo
Black Panther Party

Breakfast For Children

San Francisco

The Black Panther Party, San Francisco Branch is moving with Father Kennedy of Sacred Heart Parish to fulfill a need that exists within the Black Community, in particular. In order that young Black, third world youth, and the young of the exploited poor white working class, receive breakfast every morning, the Black Panther Party together with Father Kennedy have joined forces to make "Breakfast for Children" a reality. This program will start March 10, 1969.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO
THE VANGUARD
LONG LIVE THE MINISTER OF
DEFENSE

For further information or donations contact:
Breakfast for school children
Sacred Heart Parish, 546 Fillmore
Father Kennedy 861-5460
Black Panther Party, 1336 Fillmore
Randy Williams 921-3860
Lacky Jenkins
Lauryn Williams

Los Angeles

PANTHERS FEED PEOPLE

A new group, "The Los Angeles Friends of the Black Panthers", is being organized to help launch a hot breakfast for children project. This is a further implementation of the Panthers' 10-point program and relates to the exploited of ALL RACES. The plan, initiated by the Panthers in conjunction with local churches, is modelled on a similar service designed by the national headquarters in Oakland. Other new community programs for the "Brothers and sisters on the street" are now being discussed. All interested helpers are invited to meet and talk with leading Panthers about the new projects.

Saturday, March 8 - 1:00 PM
Unitarian Church, Severance Room
8th and Vermont Avenues, Los Angeles

Donald Freed
387-3371 (DF Offices)
479-0723 (Secretary)





South Vietnamese Liberation Fighters Launch An Attack On the Enemy.

YOUNG PEOPLE WANTED to sell



THE BLACK PANTHER

The young man in the picture earned enough money in 3 weeks to buy the bike on which he is sitting. You can do the same or better.

Contact Black Panther Office in your area or
The Black Panther National Office
3106 Shattuck, Berkeley, Calif.

*Berkeley, Calif.	3106 Shattuck
Vallejo, Calif.	1024 Gateway St.
East Oakland, Calif.	7304 E. 14th St.
San Francisco, Calif.	1336 Fillmore St.
Sacramento, Calif.	2941 35th St.
Los Angeles, Calif.	4115 Central
Seattle, Wash.	1127½ 34th Ave.
Indianapolis, Ind.	113 W. 30th St.
Denver, Colo.	3401 Franklin St.
New York, N.Y.	1808A Fulton St. & 780 Nostrum
Jersey City, N.J.	384 Pacific Ave.
San Diego, Calif.	2608 Imperial Ave.
Om Iha, Nebraska	3120 No. 24th St.
Detroit, Mich.	1438 Euclid
Baltimore, Md.	1209 N. Eden St.
Chicago, Ill.	2350 W. Madison
Richmond, Calif.	520 Bissel
Houston, Texas	7245 Scott (#253)
Roxbury, Mass.	375 Blue Hill Ave.
Newark, N.J.	321 Hawthorne Ave.
Phil Idelphia, Pa.	1707 Widener Place
Pittsburgh, Pa.	808 Gearing Ave. & 84 Lafferty Ave.
Kansas City, Mo.	2223 Lydia
Minneapolis, Minn.	707 N. Sheridan Ave.
Fresno, Calif.	329 W. Myers

*National Office (Contact National Office for locations of unlisted offices)

"By Lifting Their Hands Against "Bunchy" And John They Lifted Their Hands Against The Best That Humanity Possesses"

"I'D RATHER BE WITHOUT THE SHAME"

John Jerome Huggins and Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, like seventeen other Panther brothers within the last 13 months, have proven their dedication to the cause of Black Liberation beyond any doubt.

It is a fact that "Knowledge begins with perception of the objective external world through man's physical sense organs". Many brothers and sisters who previously denied or ignored certain objective facts about "Pork-chop-cultural-nationalism" in general and the US organization in particular have now had the truth brought so forcefully home to them that they are finding it very hard to replace genuine knowledge (acquired through social practice with their old "standards brands" of apathy, indifference, head-in-the-sand-ism, "cloud-nine-ism", abstract blackness", Black Art, Black Culture, Black (Un)-Awareness, Black Pride, Psychedelic bull-shit, abstract negritude, sun-worship, "Cultural (counter-revolutionary) Nationalism", or any other form of madness divorced from the concrete political revolutionary practices.

A long, hard objective look at Pork-chop Cultural Nationalism and US organization's history may reveal more truth than many of our people would like at the present; but look we must.

First, let us take a look at the theory of Pork-chop Cultural Nationalism. There is no such thing as a cultural revolution, divorced from economics, or prior to the onset of armed struggle, or any way divorced from armed struggle. Cultural Nationalism worship only the most reactionary aspects of African History. Most Cultural Nationalists are engaged in petty thievery, which they call small business, and are in fact the front line troops of Capitalism in the Black Community.

Pork-chop Cultural Nationalism is the champion of the status-quo and articulates a sensational, comical racism as a cover-up for counter-revolutionary politic and concrete economic issues. Pork-chop Cultural Nationalism is a reactionary flight from armed struggle. It is loved dearly by the racist pigs of the power structure because it divides the oppressed and exploited workers on the basis of skin on the one hand and acts as the seed bed for Black Capitalism on the other. It may seem hard to believe that slaves would buy stock in the plantation which enslaves them but the uncle tomming "house nigger" has existed since slavery's beginning.

Pork-chop Cultural Nationalism is much loved by some black men because they can rant and rave and look ugly and fierce and not be forced to face the real enemy. The Pork-chop Cultural Nationalist likes his "brother-in-practice", the racist pig cop, has Smith and Weston genitals and finds it very easy to attack the broad mass and Black or other revolutionary forces, (the strong and brave warriors of the minority) and are afraid to even think bad about the ruling class. The point is that many so-called men, who are in reality sissies, cowards and punks, know they are tomming for the Pig Power structure and think they have the double-dealing racist pigs on their side.

We on the side of the Black masses and other oppressed people know that "The spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology", and that "The masses have boundless creative power."

But the boot-lickin' toms, these scurvy ass-lickin' Pork-chop Nationalists, are not men and they will never be anything but the political whores of the Pig Power Structure.

There may be some good brothers and sisters caught up in the cultural bull-shit. Only social practice (doing) can be the criterion of truth. It is quite conceivable that some within those ranks are suffering only from pale, hairless, scabby, empty heads. We can only hope that they have not already washed their hands in the blood of the masses, that their hair grows fast, and they get smart quick.

Pork-chop Cultural Nationalists are punks, sissies, cowards and down-and-out freaks. They may appear bold and are proven to be dangerous -- as tools of the Pig. They have never been men enough to be dangerous to the Pig. The class stand of the Pork-chop Cultural Nationalist is that of the petty bourgeois, the house niggers, the boot-lickers.

The semantic madness contained in most of the writings of buffoons like Ronald Everett and Le Roi Jones are useless. These niggers act like Black People never had any pride until they hit the scene. That shows you how far they've been from the masses and for how long. Yet a Cultural Nationalist will attack anything with vigor if it threatens to release his captive audience from its tomb of ignorance. This is proven by the Pig Ron Everett's attack on China's Chairman Mao-Tse-Tung's Quotations. Chairman Mao-Tse-Tung is leading revolutionary movements through the world, and has proven its philosophy to all revolutionaries.



Alprentice 'Bunchy'' Carter



John Jerome Huggins

Black Mother

i must confess that i still breathe
though you are not yet free
what could justify my crying start
forgive my cowards heart
— but blame me not the sheepish me
for i have just awakened from a deep, deep, sleep
and i be hazed, and dazed, and scared
and vipers fester in my hair
BLACK MOTHER i curse your drudging years
the rapes, and heart-breaks, sweat and tears
— but this cannot redeem the fact —
you cried in pain, i turned my back
and ran into the myers fog
and watched while you were dogged
and died a thousand deaths
but i swear on seige night dark and gloom
a rose i'll wear to honor you, and when i fall
the rose in hand
you'll be free and i a man
for a slave of natural death who dies
can't balance out to two dead flies
i'd rather be without the shame
a bullet lodged within my brain
if i were not to reach our goal
let bleeding cancer torment my soul.

ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER

"Do Something, Nigger . . . If You Only Spit"

"A BULLET LODGED WITHIN MY BRAIN..."

The shame that the late Alprentice Bunchy Carter, Deputy Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party, talked about in his beautiful revolutionary poem "Black Mother" was the shame of a slave who dies of "natural death".

Natural death for slaves of 20th Century Babylon can come in many forms. It may be the natural death of a brother who "trips" his life away, while giving lip service to the revolutionary struggle until he ends up as a "Justifiable Homicide" in some racist pig cop's collection of dead niggers. It may be the death of a high flying, super-cool brother who is killed in a fall from "Cloud Nine", and ends up listed as an O.D.-D.O.A. (over-dose, Dead-on-arrival) in one of the butcher shops, jokingly referred to as "County Hospitals"; or the creeping death that comes slowly counting minutes to hours, hours to days, days to weeks, weeks to years on a humbug, behind bars. Death may come in Viet-Nam or Laos, for land that will never be his, or freedom he doesn't have here in the States. Death may come in Watts over a roll of Reds or a roll of whites, or in Oakland over a ten dollar bag. Death may come to a slave in Fillmore over a woman that belongs to everyone and nobody; an intellectual slave may divorce himself from the masses and read himself into oblivion; a slave can spend his time fighting, fornicating and shooting dice and die hot-rodding on the street. All these are the natural deaths that we see in the ghettoes and suburbias everyday in a thousand and one bull-shit ways.

This is what is meant by:

"Only Social Practice can be the criterion of truth."

Mao-Tse-Tung

"Bunchy was a practioner..."

Bobby Seale

"I'd rather be without the shame
A bullet lodged within my brain..."

Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD



EMORY DOUGLAS
MINISTER OF CULTURE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Talent for the Revolution

By Frank Jones, Managing Editor

Many people have talents that could be extremely useful to the revolutionary movement that is now taking place, but for various reasons a great number of highly skilled individuals refuse to enter the struggle. Their hesitancy to enter the fight can be attributed to fear, apathy, ignorance, complacency, or any number of insufficient reasons which cannot serve as proper justification. We are all involved in the sociological processes of humanity, and all of us should make contributions to any efforts that seek to improve the conditions of that humanity. When we fail to contribute, we add to the inertia of social stagnation and thereby become a hindrance to any movement that attempts to motivate the benevolent nature of mankind.

The types and kinds of skills that can be useful to the world liberation movement are as varied as the skills that are employed in the complexity of this society. Whatever abilities that one may possess can be utilized by the movement, but to greatly increase the benefits that can be derived from an individual's contributions one important factor must be added to any and all skills. That factor is revolutionary ideology.

This is not intended to imply that the ideology is of greater importance than the ability because such is not the case. If one develops the ideology and has no skill, the ideology cannot be applied; and if one is highly skilled and has not the proper ideology, the skill could be improperly applied. Ability and ideology must be combined to make a completely revolutionary man.

In the BLACK PANTHER PARTY we have many complete revolutionists, but this article will concentrate on only one - our Minister of Culture, Emory Douglas. Emory has thrown himself with full force into the world liberation movement, and he has done so with consummate skill and highly developed revolutionary concepts. His combination of ability and ideology makes him a completely revolutionary man.

We are all familiar with the artistic ability that Emory possesses, but to really appreciate his devotion to the liberation movement, it is necessary to see him at work. I have worked with Emory on a number of issues of the BLACK PANTHER and by doing so I have developed a much greater appreciation of Emory, the revolutionist, as well as Emory, the artist.

Because Emory has the desirable combination of ideology and ability, he is capable of applying his ability to the movement in a manner that is most efficacious. Emory, through his art, portrays revolutionary principles in a style that is easily conceived, and were it not for the directness of Emory's work, many of the ideas of the revolutionary movement would have escaped the attention and awareness of a large number of active revolutionary advocates. Emory's work is held in high esteem by dignitaries of the revolutionary element of the emerging nations of Africa who has been presented with Emory originals.

The phase of Emory's work with which I am most familiar is his layout work for the BLACK PANTHER. The eye-appeal of the BLACK PANTHER is a tremendous factor in influencing the circulation of the newspaper, and Emory is directly responsible for the new increase in circulation that can be attributed to the eye-appeal of the paper's layout. There is no doubt that his work has been noticed, for I have received many undeserved compliments about the appearance of the paper when in fact all praise is due to Emory. The brother righteously puts the paper together.

Emory's work on the paper is not limited to his artistic ability. His knowledge of world and national politics and his awareness of how geopolitical affairs affect the revolutionary movement have prevented a number of very harmful blunders from appearing in the BLACK PANTHER. In addition to preventing mistakes, Emory has been instrumental in ascertaining that items of a very timely nature appeared in recent issues of the paper. Again I want to emphasize that it is his combination of ideology and ability that makes Emory invaluable to the movement.

Emory is now planning to do a new series of posters for the revolutionary movement, and we plan to use simplified versions of his posters on the back cover. There is one difficulty that must be overcome before the new posters can be put into production - the problem of finances. Emory has given all to the movement in such a selfless manner that he has almost depleted his personal resources. We are hopeful that the many admirers of Emory's work and the many supporters of the movement will send contributions to allow Emory to buy supplies and continue his work. Please send contributions to: Emory Douglas, c/o The Black Panther Party, 3106 Shattuck, Berkeley, Calif.

Support Revolutionary Art

(SEE ABOVE ARTICLE)

SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO:

EMORY DOUGLAS, Min. of Culture
c/o BLACK PANTHER PARTY
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.

Cultural Nationalism Attacked In Emory Douglas Speech

This article is a reprint from Western Front newspaper – Washington State Peace and Freedom Party.

By Calvin Winslow

Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, was scheduled to speak February 1, at the Encore Ballroom. That afternoon the Panthers announced that Seale would not be able to make it to Seattle. Those who passed up the meeting, however, made a mistake.

Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture of the BPP, stood in for Seale and proved once again that the leadership of the BPP includes many of the most articulate, dedicated revolutionaries of our time.

The central issue raised in the meeting, discussed by both Douglas and Aaron Dixon, Seattle Panther Captain, was the recent assassination in Los Angeles of Alprentice Carter and John Huggins, L. A. Panther leaders. The Panthers have accused US, a cultural nationalist organization led by Ron Karenga, of killing "two beautiful black brothers in the prime of revolutionary life of serving our people."

US, based in Watts, has put forth the idea of uniting all black people, regardless of class or ideology, while at the same time accepting federal money and promoting black capitalism. That cultural nationalism has now become so blatantly counter-revolutionary should not be surprising. Huey Newton pointed out some time ago that blacks can easily be used by the state to oppress their brothers. US has now turned its guns on the Panthers. This must certainly be another indication that the United States government spends its money carefully—the system can find its real enemies.

In declaring their opposition to cultural nationalism, the Panthers have increased the number of their enemies, but far more importantly, they have also rededicated themselves to serving the real interests of the people. Poor people need political power, not Dashikis. Black capitalism will not free black people. It is capitalism which has made them poor.

Emory Douglas said the Panthers will continue to organize the black community on a revolutionary basis. "The whole of Westwood (part of white Los Angeles, where UCLA is located and where the two Panthers were assassinated)," he added, "is not worth a few organized blocks of the Oakland flatlands." The Panthers now have over 60 branches, and from each an ultimatum has been issued warning Karenga and his followers to stay away. Dixon added that Seattle was included.

For those who are still looking forward to hearing Bobby Seale, Dixon said that the Panthers plan to bring him to Seattle in the near future. Watch for the time.

CRISIS AT COLUMBUS OHIO



COLUMBUS, Ohio, Jan. 29, 1969-- Last year black students at Ohio State met almost daily with university administrators and faculty members to discuss the problems and grievances of OSU black students. These grievances related to the recruitment of black students, faculty members and administrators (of the over 3000 faculty members and administrators at OSU, less than 1% are black), Black history courses, housing discrimination (in Sept. '68 a student-faculty committee completed a survey of housing discrimination in the campus area and reported that "overt and significant discrimination was detected and documented in 129 or 66% of the available rental units surveyed."), more recruitment and better treatment of Black athletes, relevant placement of Black foreign students, and university recognition of National Negro History Week. But the black students achieved few results by "going through proper channels."

After university police manhandled several black women and university officials failed to take any action against those responsible, the April 26th administration building teach-in took place. A BSU member announced that the administration building doors would be closed at 1:00, that anyone who was not willing to remain indefinitely should leave. However, people were permitted to enter and leave all afternoon. Over 200 persons, including both black and white students, faculty, ministers, and community leaders stayed in the building.

Negotiations were conducted throughout the day. After the administration conceded to several BSU demands, the doors were unlocked.

The administration later claimed that since these agreements were made under coercion, it was not obliged to respect them. It did not honor its agreement to publish in the campus newspaper a list of programs to aid the black student or to have members of the black community represented on the committee investigating the police incident which led to the April 26th demonstration.

On April 27th, the Columbus Dispatch reported that "with the exception of a television cameraman who was forced to hand over his film, no incidents of violence or destruction were reported in the student occupation." However, the local press later began a series of attacks against participants in the demonstration and was joined by members of the OSU Board of Trustees who made statements demanding that the "anarchists" be immediately expelled and that legal action be taken against them. The result was that out of the over 200 people in the administration building, 34 black students were indicted on four charges, including kidnapping, and, if convicted, they each face up to 305 years in jail.

Despite the recommendations of a faculty investigating committee that no students be dismissed, the university dismissed eight black students. No action -- either in the courts or in the university -- has been taken against any white students.

The university also responded with repressive demonstration rules which, in effect, outlaw any demonstration of which the administration disapproved. Ohio State President Novice Fawcett began this academic year by stating that OSU will not become a soapbox for "exhibitionists" to display "their ludicrous and revolting self-expression."

Attempts to have the dismissed students reinstated, the new demonstration rules repealed, the original BSU demands acted upon, and good graces of the university used to influence the county prosecuting attorney to drop charges against the 34 black students have been unsuccessful. Besides President Fawcett's comment that he will not give in to "absurd" demands, the university's response has been one of silence.

The response of the OSU administration and the Columbus public officials in handing down these indictments is the most reactionary to be taken in dealing with legitimate campus dissent. It has been seen by Blacks as an attempt to "whitewash" 98 years of university negligence, indifference, and racism by a "legal lynching" of 34 black students.

As it stands to date, the two major charges -- kidnapping and conspiracy to abduct -- had been dropped, because of legal technicalities. They have since been revised, resubmitted and approved by a new Grand Jury, resulting in the same status as originally reported. The trial date has been set for April 7th.



Reagan Says 'Eliminate Students'

SACRAMENTO, Calif. (LNS) -- Statewide student unrest amounts to guerrilla warfare, said California Governor Ronald Reagan. The only way to stop it, he added, is to "eliminate" those who cause the trouble.

Reagan told a group from San Diego's Chamber of Commerce that the solution in guerrilla warfare is to eliminate and kill your enemy. He later modified his definition of "elimination" to "firing the faculty and expelling the students."

LETTER FROM OHIO STATE

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

I would like first of all to commend The Black Panthers for their efforts to secure national unity amongst the Black Students Unions throughout this racist society. As you may realize the BLACK students on the WHITE campuses are in desperate need of a national B.S.U. IDENTITY PLAYS AN IMPORTANT PART IN DEVELOPMENT. Those of us who are isolated are lost! I am a student at Ohio State University, number one in football and damn near number one in overt racism and persecution.

At present my wife Jenny, and thirty-four other students (all black) are awaiting trial in Columbus, Ohio. They face sentences of 51-1/2 to 305 years of imprisonment for taking over the administration building (pig pen) on April 26, 1968. We are going to embark upon an all out amnesty campaign within the next few days. We have had a hard time gaining support in the black community because the fear of a white backlash. The retarded city of Columbus is saturated with racist pigs and Booker Toms. We need all of the outside help we can get.

We have reorganized the Black Student Union in a military fashion. Rhetoric will get us nowhere. We feel that the Community (masses) are of top priority and are more valuable than the "self-centered" NEGRO student. Self-defense on the campus and in the city is the first order of the day. We hope all B.S.U. can see the importance of physical strength. We patrol the campus and are now going to expand into the Black community. We know what an ugly monster racism is, and we will not be devoured by it. In the so-called take-over there were white students, faculty and ministers yet only the 34 black students were indicted. Thus we have analyzed the racist rationale of this filthy dog in Columbus, and ask all B.S.U. to be aware. The enemy is the same anywhere he is.

We are asking all B.S.U.'s and the BLACK PANTHER PARTY to give us support throughout the Black press.

BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

Henry Anderson
MINISTER OF DEFENSE,
SECURITY COUNCIL
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY BLACK STUDENTS
Rm. 308 Ohio Union
Columbus, Ohio 43210

STRIKE POWER TO THE STUDENTS

SOLIDARITY PRESS CONFERENCE

The massive use of guns, gas, and force, is to preserve an atmosphere where the atomic research plant (Cal) and the local, national, and riot control war machine (chemical, weaponry, and psychological) can operate on a "business as usual basis." Also the "police establishment, must maintain locally an immage of 'law and order'", whereby the educational system of this country can escalate their campaign to produce a collosal wave of Third World lackies, and more sophisticated racists, to entrench the capitalist armory in the minds and communities of the proletarian masses.

We clearly recognize the shrewd, unprincipled maneuvers of the racist military-industrial compound, to make the student-worker community believe that the repressive terror vented against the people is over the issue of black studies and student determination, rather than the larger issue of developing the technical tools to sustain and defend AmeriKKKa, the haven of oppressive capitalism, and imperialist exploitation throughout the world.

There can be no doubt that chemical and biological warfare is going on in Cal, specifically and in all universities. Nor can there be any doubt that the result of such research is monopolized by the government -- an arrangement which makes the university a tool of the government and of government policy. This is only one sector of the university affected by such an arrangement; chemical and biological warfare research is only one manifestation of the university functioning as an instrument for the exercise of power. Sociology Professor Phillip Selznick, and chairman of the center for the study of Law and Society, at U.C.B., stated that, "Their studies might suggest new ways to use the courts in times of crisis, or emergency measures of reestablishing order in a period of turmoil, or means of preserving institutions like universities rocked by conflict. This makes visible, very clearly, that the intensification of pig brutality is not a coincident or an impulsive outburst, but a vicious calculated strategy to use all the institutions at its disposal. For example, education and religion is used to preserve a dying civilization, a society which can only survive through exploitation of all the people of the world, who comprise the downtrodden masses.

For these reasons, we declare a SOLIDARITY PACT OF THIRD WORLD REVOLUTIONARIES, as well as white "Mother Country" radicals, to wage a violent insurrection by which the people will overthrow the ruling class of racist capitalist. So we say "Power to the People, Student Power to the Students, and Panther Power to the Peoples' Vanguard.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA INCOME

1. The atomic Energy Commission - $777,037
2. Air Force - $1,550,957
3. Army - $633,067
4. Navy - $3,512,190
5. Dept. of Health Education and Welfare - $6,405,000
6. N.A.S.A. - $7,581,000
7. National Science Foundation - $8,545,379
8. Public Health Services - $13,496,228
9. Agriculture - $1,002,929
10. Other - $3,451,734
11. CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE -
   a. Invention of very small water droplets containing disease causing organisms such as pneumonic plague, - twice as deadly as the bubonic plague.
   b. Other diseases developed include Anthrax which can be fatal within 24 hours, yellow fever transmitted by ticks or mosquitoes. These diseases and others are considered excellent candidates for biological warfare.
12. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
   a. Manufactures nuclear reactors
   b. Experiments with Boron, a highly important control material.
   c. Designs themonuclear fission warheads, improving efficiency of nuclear fission weapons, and the development of thermonuclear weapons with reduced fission yields.
13. INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
   A. Its financial support of educational projects which bring Third World youths to the United States for training has been essential in developing an international ruling class loyal to the United States. The for International Education is clearly a potent tool for international corporations in developing loyal elites in Third World Countries which assures stable Market and sources of raw materials.

RACIST U OF TENN BARS SPEAKERS

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. -- Student leaders and faculty members at the University of Tennessee have filed suit in U.S. District Court here asking that the school be stopped from barring controversial speakers on campus.

A long-simmering debate over the university's speaker policy came to a head in recent months when school officials refused to allow Dick Gregory and Dr. Timothy Leary to speak on campus. Gregory was running for president of the U.S. on the Peace and Freedom ticket when he was barred. Rep. Julian Bond of Georgia cancelled a speaking engagement of his own at the University in protest.

The suit charges that the university's speaker policy violates First and Fourteenth Amendment rights and has "forbidden and chilling effect on free expression."

Defendants include university officials and Tennessee Gov. Buford Ellington who serves as chairman of the school's board of trustees. Those filing the suit include leaders of the campus Student Government Association and Winter Quarter Issues, which brings speakers to the school.

The plaintiffs are represented by William Kunstler, Arthur Kinoy, and Morton Stavis of the Law Center for Constitutional Rights in Newark, N.J.



BLACK STUDENTS FIGHT IN SOUTH

NEW OLEANS -- Students at racially troubled Fortier High School here have begun a boycott of classes. They marched, chanting, into the school building to rally their uncommitted brothers. Innis Griffin, chairman of the Fortier Black Student Union says that "we saw the need to go inside the building and actually disrupt classes, because by merely marching outside we couldn't demonstrate to the students inside how strongly we felt, and why we considered the boycott necessary.

The boycotting students were demanding a Black Student Union, a course in Black history, and end to prejudicial treatment of Black students, and the removal of Fortier's "teacher police force."

The boycotters, numbering about 185 (25%) of Fortier's Black students), chanted, "Hell no, we won't go" "Don't be a Tom, John," "I'm Black and I'm proud."

The boycott followed the sometimes violent arrest of 54 Fortier students during earlier demonstrations. Police referred to the violence as "a shoving match," but T.V. coverage showed several nightsticks in use. Some of the students were Maced while inside a police paddy wagon. Detective Fred O'Sullivan of the Police Office of Information called the Mace attack a case of "poor judgment."

Fortier officials and School Board members made it clear that far from acceding to any of the student's demands, penalties would be enforced with a vengeance. Orleans Parish School Board President, Lloyd J. Rittener, called for the expulsion of students demonstrating inside the school, and the suspensions of any students involved in activities which, in his estimation, "disrupt the educational process."

Nedy Rogers of The Word (a New Orleans underground paper) explains that the demand for the removal of the "teacher police force" refers primarily to the patrolling of the cafeteria and halls by the teaching staff, although, as Griffin puts it, "We do believe that there are Fortier teachers who serve as agents for the police department, on watch for leftist activities." The establishment press in New Orleans has reported the uses of "undercover agent" teachers in the New Orleans public schools.

The purpose of the Student Union, Griffin explains, is to "dramatize the needs of the students." The Union hopes to gain administrative recognition as the official "voice of Fortier Black students."

Despite the expulsions and suspensions, Griffin promises, students will be on campus everyday. Says Griffin, "We have to make the Man move."

BAY AREA PIGS GANG UP

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS) — In a 100 mile area surrounding the city, riot and movement control squads are being organized to supplement San Francisco's OWN Tactical Squad.

North of San Francisco, Sonoma County has just organized its own 15 man Tac Squad. "What we have is just a small Tac Squad," said the Undersheriff. "We are also getting a gas fogger, just like San Francisco's Tac Squad, which will lay a fog of gas over a particular area."

To the south, Santa Cruz County also has a crack unit which has already seen service at S.F. State. It possesses several Stoner rifles, the kind that can rip through a block of buildings. These and other squads belong to the North Bay Law Enforcement Cooperative — California cops have been divided into five such groups. Within each region, in a kind of SEATO arrangement, any police chief may request other units in the area.

Thomas Cahill, chief of the San Francisco Police Department, is head of the Cooperative. He has been known to grant his own requests for help.

San Francisco has a statuatory limit of 1,825 police. The Tac Squad is already under criticism, and the solution to both this unfavorable publicity and the expansion limitations seems to lie in beefing up forces outside city limits.



SOUTHWEST AFRICA FOLLOWS CHAIRMAN MAO







All Power to the People



San Francisco State AFT Sellout

by Nathan Hare

It should have come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the history of revolutionary struggles that AFT turncoat, polka dot Uncle Toms (white and black) would vote to resume their quasi-slave labor at racist San Francisco State College.

At least the AFT turncoats had studied enough history to realize that bourgeois-minded opportunists such as they can frequently seize the opportunity to reap material gains from a revolutionary group's demands, though that was not the only reason why they joined the BSU-TWLF strike.

Still, the AFT turncoats moved quickly and stealthily into their primary bourgeois preoccupation, playing at small-time capitalism, predatorily transforming our rebellion into a commodity to be exploited and sold in the market place by using the labor of student leaders and idle but loquacious professors for solicited speaking engagements. This included a nationwide lecture and rally tour designed to advertise the AFT firm, and amass operating capital.

On top of this, one of their primary motivations, to the end, was the search for security — economic and otherwise. In the beginning, before they actually joined the strike, they were terrified that their bourgeois teaching comforts were being disrupted by campus turmoil. A number of their subsequent leaders admitted that they mainly wanted to restore peace and harmony (the bourgeois liberal's phase for "law and order,") so that — they felt — "the kids at least will get something out of this."

Thus the emotion behind their participation was sympathy and a concomitant desire to participate in our feelings and experiences. They had sympathy for our demands when what they really needed was empathy, inasmuch as the powerlessness of the students leaves the professors likewise weak and helpless before a ruthless administration. To have empathy is to understand the behavior of another on the basis of one's own experience and behavior. He who sympathizes merely bleeds for another emotionally whereas he who empathizes bleeds WITH him.

The sympathy of the AFT toms was merely an unconscious element of the search for security. Thus the positive drive in their search for security eventually evaporated into a negative force vis-a-vis the strike when their slave-labor jobs became seriously threatened — they thought; for SF State could never have endured the loss of two hundred professors, including thirteen of their fourteen Harvard Ph.d.'s.

The AFT turncoats acted, as Freud would say, on their own pleasure principle, exhibiting an infantile discharging of tensions and hostilities with administrators as they arose to protect their own pleasure and satisfaction irrespective of the consequences of that behavior for students and professors decades yet to come. Among the more neurotic, this frequently amounted to the old liberal lust in which they pleaded, day and night, for contact and association over cocktails with true revolutionists.

Committed strikers, on the other hand, were not merely dissipating instinctual energy. They operated, as they continue to operate, on the reality principle — in this instance, the powerlessness and oppression at SF State and hence the educational survival of a race. While they sought to heighten the contradictions, AFT turncoats set about frantically heightening the degree of public stimulation, holding a plethora of press conferences and flooding the campus with leaflets containing their half-baked lies.

They did not want to risk their clearly unsatisfactory jobs, just as they did not want to risk bodily harm from student terror early in the struggle and later from the clubs of the tactical squad. Accordingly, they used the old tactic "if - you - can't lick - em - join - em." Since they could not safely join the tactical squad, they naturally joined the students, where the risks were smaller than as unidentified professors.

While trying thusly to avoid physical and moral abuse, they sought the pleasure of political activity while disdaining the politics of struggle. They merely jumped on a ready bandwagon and, when the going got rough, crawled off. This was in part the result of a power craze. There are two basic aspects of a power craze: the will to command and the will to obey. The AFT turncoats' will to command was apparent in their antics on the picket lines where signs predominated and where they sought (usually unsuccessfully) to police student picketing behavior.

One night as I was walking across the campus with a famous Negro lackey who was among the several who had sneaked out here to try to negotiate, I almost got into a fist fight with an AFT turncoat, who heatedly forbade us to enter the campus. I suggested that I had been among those who started this little skirmish, that he knew damn well that I was not breaking the strike simply by going on campus after dark, rolled my eyes at him and kept on going. The will to obey currently exhibited by this same fellow and his AFT turncoat followers would seek to solve problems "from the inside" — by which he meant infiltrate high level committees on the strength of new-found recognition and deference accruing from participation in the strike.

Mainly the AFT turncoats will fall full swing into writing and editing books and posing as experts on "student unrest." In addition to several scholarly works, I know of at least two novels being written by AFT turncoats.

But, in a larger sense, our own naivete is to blame. We were silly enough to believe that we could form a symbiotic struggle, one mutually advantageous though our ends were dissimilar. This was eventually the source of the relationship's corrosis. While we relied on the AFT pickets as a sort of buffer between us and the pigs, our own self-reliance was slickened.

We fell victim to the fallacy or myth of majority rule, searching increasingly for the largest possible numbers in order to carry out the mass tactics majority rule entails. While napping under this illusion, we could not even see that we were being infiltrated by a new kind of enemy. Although the AFT turncoats were fighting ostensibly for occupational benefits alone, their reference group — the group to which they related and longed to be a part of — remained the collegiate ruling class. Their unilateral clamor for "strike sanction" itself is a case in point. A sanction, in the most general sense of the term, is a punishment or reward whose aim is to procure conformity with the standards of behavior regarded as desirable by the sanctioning group — in this case the labor establishment flunky-collaborators of the power structure. A perusal of Marx could have warned us of the ancient tactic of dampening revolutionary fervor with reform efforts.

In collaborating with us, the AFT turncoats were practicing what sociologists call "antagonistic cooperation" — a high action of the reason to overlook lesser antagonisms in order to work together for great interests. They fought the power structure feebly for six weeks in the hope of removing the violence and disruption and in anticipation of containing the struggle later on. They thought that their departure from the strike would decimate the students' temporarily waning spirit. In another sense, of course, they also were competing for what they thought would be the crumbs from the Board of Trustees' table. So, no sooner had a few crumbs fallen than they rushed to lap them up. Whatever crumbs they did receive can only constitute a theft. Even prayer, as Emerson was aware, as a means to effect a private end is both meanness and theft.

Unlike the AFT turncoats, we were not fighting for material gains, nor even educational benefits for ourselves alone; we were fighting for the educational and, therefore, general survival of a people. But pig-minded people like the AFT turncoats will never understand that.

We can only conclude that the AFT turncoats are thieves, opportunists, lackeys, enemies of the people, and spineless. They are traitors; and students are justified should they treat them like one. I suppose, however, that in one way, they already have their punishment. It is said that it is better to die on one's feet than to live on one's knees. The AFT turncoat uncle toms are back in the classroom on their bellies.



ARMBANDS OK

WASHINGTON, D.C. (LNS) — The Supreme Court has upheld (7-2) the right of three Des Moines high school students to wear black armbands to school in protest of the Vietnam war.

The majority opinion stated that students and teachers don't shed "their Constitutional right to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate."

Justice Black in a dissenting opinion said the decision subjects all public schools to the whims of their "loudest mouthed" students. He denied "any belief (in) what the Court did today."

Semi-Official Military Group

by Sheila Ryan

Big Ten schools and nearly every state university campus have a unit of the Pershing Rifles, an elite private association of the most enthusiastic ROTC members. Now, every member of every Pershing Rifle company has been instructed to spy on SDS, the Black Panthers, "and all other local subversive groups."

The Pershing Rifles "hasn't got yet what you could call a solidified program to do something about the disruptive radicals, SDS and the others, but I know there would be a lot of interest for it, especially on the coasts, where they have more of that sort of radical disruption," said Major Kent Cockson in an interview with LNS.

Major Cockson, a journalism student at the University of Nebraska, where the National Headquarters of the Pershing Rifles is located, explained that the National Headquarters started a file on "subversive propaganda" in December. A national program directed against SDS and the Black Panthers will depend on "how much information we get, and what the National Commander decides."

On February 3, an order signed by Major Cockson went out to the 13 regimental headquarters, entitled, "SUBJECT: Subversive Propaganda." Cockson instructed "All Regiments" to "Forward any material published by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Black Panthers and all other local subversive groups or local chapters of national organizations to National Headquarters. Send documents w/o alteration. Send news clippings neatly trimmed and pasted on an 8" x 11" sheet of white paper (standard size). If you have any such information already on file, it may be Zeroxed or Thermofaxed and reproductions may be forwarded."

The Regimental Headquarters are to instruct all 153 companies on campuses across the country to comply with Cockson's "request." "We got about 7000 kids in the companies," Cockson told LNS.

"Since the Pershing Rifles aren't really officially connected with the Army, we can say things about the radicals that the Department of Defense can't say," Cockson explained. And it seems that now the Pershing Rifles are getting ready to become the active campus counterinsurgents that ROTC units can't officially be.

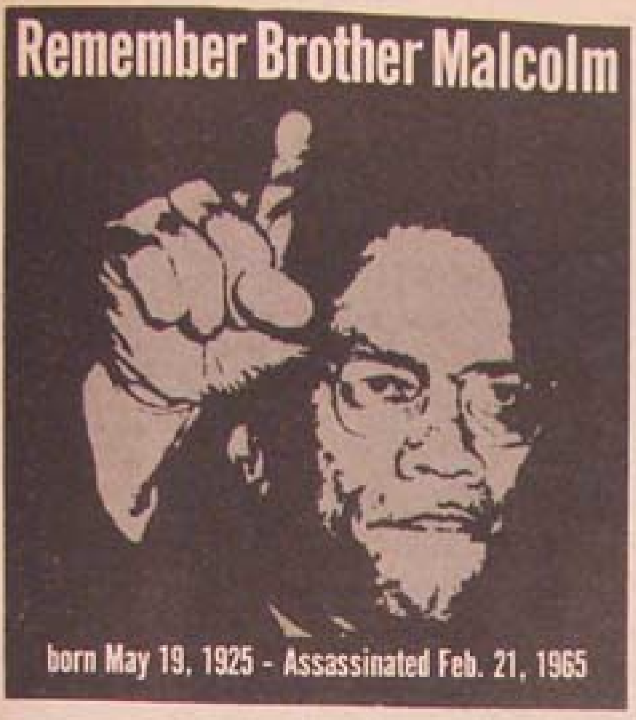
SWEDEN PROMISES SAFETY FOR US DESERTERS

STOCKHOLM (LNS) — The Swedish government Feb. 21 assured American military deserters and draft evaders that they will be given refuge here.

The statement by Interior Minister Eric Holmqvist apparently indicated a relaxation of regulations, especially in regard to draft-evaders, who previously have been denied asylum. Holmqvist said American deserters and other objectors will not be deported except for "serious crimes."

The government also announced that it will initiate a program to provide vocational training or retraining for deserters.

Deserters still will not be granted "political asylum," but will continue to be accepted on "humanitarian grounds." Swedish leftists have been campaigning for the granting of political asylum which would allow refugees to remain in Sweden permanently and apply for Swedish citizenship. Permits granted on "humanitarian grounds" are good for only three months at a time.



Thai guerillas in 33 provinces

The revolutionary armed struggle of the people of Thailand has developed into a new stage and the flames of armed struggle have spread to a new province, according to the 'Voice of the People of Thailand' radio.

The Thai people's patriotic armed forces, the radio said, have grown rapidly from a small to a big force and from a weak to a strong force, and have time and again smashed the 'suppression' operations conducted by the US-Thanom clique.

At present, the flames of armed struggle are raging in 33 out of the country's 71 provinces. The setting up of the Supreme Command of the Thai People's Liberation Army was proclaimed on New Year's Day. This showed that the people's patriotic armed forces have grown in strength and proclaimed that the revolutionary armed struggle of the Thai people has entered a new stage.

Under the leadership of the Thai Communist Party, the people of Srisaket Province, Northeastern Thailand, lit up the flames of armed struggle in the Province on January 13 when they attacked the police dispatched by the US-Thanom clique to Kan Tra District to suppress the people. The revolutionary armed struggle has thus spread to the 33rd province.

The people's armed forces are now capable of annihilating the enemy's effectives in large numbers. Fighting in Loey, Phetchabun and Phisanurok provinces they put out of action in five days more than 200 troops of the troops of the US-Thanom clique, and shot down or damaged over ten enemy aircraft. The People's Liberation Army in Nan and Chiang Rai provinces succeeded in putting nearly 100 troops of the enemy forces out of action in one operation.

LBJ now a multi-millionaire

Lyndon Johnson who stepped down from White House in dismay recently, has amassed a fortune by fleecing the American working people ruthlessly through all kinds of despicable means during his term of office as US president, according to a Washington report quoting material revealed on the American press.

It was reported that the value of Johnson's property increased from US$3.5 million in the days before he was re-elected president in 1964 to $14-20 million at the beginning of this year when he stepped down from office, an increase of several hundred per cent.

Texas Broadcasting Co.

Backed by the US monopoly capitalist class, Johnson increased his wealth by abusing his power as president and ruthlessly exploiting and plundering the American working people. For example, 'The Texas Broadcasting Company' run by Johnson in his home state of Texas made big profits after Johnson became president. It has become a monopoly enterprise with a property valued at $10 million and is now controlling the radio and television operations in six cities in three states.

Johnson's ranch

As a big rancher, Johnson seized big plots of land through various means after he became president. At present he owns 15,000 acres of land. Taking advantage of his post, Johnson also spent large amounts of government funds to build 'The LBJ State Park' and construct many highways and resorts near his ranches. This led to a sharp rise in the value of land there and a huge increase in Johnson's wealth. Johnson resorted to various means to make more money. A lake nearby his ranch is called 'Lake Lyndon B. Johnson'. The water of the lake has now become a source of revenue for Johnson, because a jar of it is sold at a very high price.

Bank stock

As to the bank stock he held, Johnson keeps his mouth shut. But it was disclosed that he has so far over $4.6 million worth of stock in ten banks.

In short, the fortune amassed by Johnson is completely extorted from the American working people. This is a sanguinary crime committed by Johnson against the American working people.

US IMPERIALISM IS DYING

U.S. imperialism is intensifying fascisation at home. Tightening the machinery of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with redoubled efforts, it is subjecting the American people to a reign of terror and bloody suppression that is worse than before and has turned the United States into a huge prison.

Chairman Mao pointed out in 1949: "The governments of Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo, Franco and Chiang Kai-shek discarded the veil of democracy for the bourgeoisie or never used it because the class struggle in their countries was extremely intense and they found it advantageous to discard, or not to use, this veil lest the people too should make use of it." Chairman Mao also predicted at the time that U.S. imperialism would inevitably follow the same road.

Events have turned out exactly this way!

Since the end of World War II, U.S. imperialism has been playing the role of "international gendarme" in frantically suppressing the people of many countries. But inside the United States it has tried hard to put on an air of respectability by hiding its ruthless rule behind a veil of "democracy." However, with the daily sharpening of the class struggle in the country, this veil has long been torn to shreds by U.S. ruling circles themselves. U.S. imperialism is now stepping up its fascisation and making savage onslaughts on the people. This completely reveals its ferocious features.

The intensified fascisation by U.S. ruling circles reflects the rapid exacerbation of the political-economic crisis of U.S. imperialism, the inevitable result of the rapid and vigorous development of the American people's revolutionary struggle. Like roaring waves, the struggle of the Black Americans against racial oppression, the workers' movement and the student movement have violently pounded the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist in recent years. Since deception and trickery have failed to stop the tempestuous torrents U.S. ruling circles are banking on the bayonet to maintain their rule. Thus the intensified fascist dictatorship at home by U.S. imperialism is by no means a sign of strength. It only betrays its weakness. It is a sign of U.S. imperialism nearing the end of its rope.

Fascism is itself the product of the imperialist system in decline. Once fascism is introduced it inevitably accelerates the collapse of this system. Outright violence under the savage rule of the U.S. imperialists will only disabuse the masses of much of their illusions about bourgeois democracy and help bring about a greater awakening of the American people. It will help them see more clearly that only by using revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence can genuine emancipation be achieved. Fascist dictatorship, far from destroying the revolutionary movement of the American people, will only create powerful grave-diggers of U.S. imperialism. Fascism did not save Hitler from destruction. Neither can it save U.S. imperialism from its final doom!



ANTI-POVERTY WORKER FIRED

PRESTONSBURY, Ky. — Mrs. Edith Easterling, a life-long resident of neighboring Pike County, has been fired by the Appalachian Volunteers (AVs) an anti-poverty agency partly funded by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).



She has been employed as an anti-poverty worker since October, 1966, most recently as director of the Marrowbone Folk School in Pike County. She has figured prominently in controversies arising from efforts to organize poor and unemployed black and white people in the mountains.

Mrs. Easterling said she was told that OEO funds for her job had run out, but she declared: "My salary has been paid by the New World Foundation since last November, not the OEO. The real reason I was fired is that the AVs wanted to control me and tell me whom I associate with."

The Kentucky Un-American Activities Committee (KUAC) called her to testify in Pikeville in early December. She challenged the right of KUAC to investigate and told the committee: "What I do is my business."

Mrs. Easterling also informed the committee that she had a confession to make. As committee members waited expectantly, she said, "I have done wrong -- I voted for that dirty bunch in the courthouse."

Her dismissal is the latest in a series of firings and resignations which began with the arrest of five persons, one of them an AV, on sedition charges in August, 1967. A three-judge federal court freed the five on the ground that the Kentucky sedition law violated the U.S. Constitution.

The AV involved was Joe Mulloy, who was fired in December 1967, after he announced that he would refuse to be inducted into the armed forces. Since then Mulloy and his wife have been organizers for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a privately financed agency working to end racism, poverty, and war.

Since 1967, there has been an almost complete turnover in the AV staff. Informed sources have said that militants are being pruned off the staff and replaced by workers less likely to offend sources of funds.

Mrs. Easterling, wife of a disabled miner and mother of four children, noted that she was paid half the salary of the "professional" staff of the AVs.

David Walls, $12,000-a-year acting director of the AVs, denied that there was anything personal in Mrs. Easterling's dismissal. Interviewed at his office here, he said that more than one third of the AV staff have been released since September.

Mrs. Easterling declared that her loss of income will not stop her work. She said: "I worked with Joe Mulloy and we helped organize the Pike County Citizens Association. We've got sewing classes and a Boy Scout troop and workshops on community problems. The AVs have now fired everybody that wanted to help the poor people. They just want to raise money to keep themselves a salary. I am going to continue to organize the freedom for the people.

"If there's anyting to be done for the poor people of Marrowbone Creek it's to take Tom Ramsey (AV county director) and the AV out of Pike County."



BANKRUPT "GLOBAL STRATEGY"

The raging flames of the people's armed struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the waves of the national-liberation movement in these regions and the storms of people's movement in Western Europe and North America have completely upset the counter-revolutionary "global strategy" of U.S. imperialism. The Vietnamese people have persisted in people's war and have severely battered more than one million U.S., puppet and vassal troops and thrown them into an awkward predicament. The valiantly fighting Laotian people have dealt hammer blows at U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in Laos and have won one victory after another in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The people's revolutionary armed forces in Burma, Thailand and other countries have grown rapidly. They have mounted frequent attacks on the enemy, making it hot for U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The armed struggles of the Arab, African and Latin American peoples have also developed rapidly. And the struggle of the workers, students and people of other strata in Western Europe and North America is surging forward irresistibly with tremendous momentum. Just as the U.S. reactionary press admitted, the war of aggression against Vietnam placed U.S. "prestige in the world at a low point" and had chewed up American manpower and material resources at an astonishing rate. It also admitted that in the Middle East, the Arab people's struggle against Israel, U.S. imperialism's tool for aggression, was "an increasing danger" to the interests of U.S. imperialism, and that "tension" continues to rise" in Africa, the "backyard" of U.S. imperialism, Latin America, it said, was "a more troublesome area than any other facing the new president."

Violently pounded by the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries, the general crisis of capitalism is deepening daily, the various military blocs U.S. imperialism has painstakingly rigged up and the imperialist bloc it heads are splitting and falling apart rapidly. Again and again, French President de Gaulle has fiercely challenged U.S. imperialism's counter - revolutionary "global strategy." He has driven all the agencies of the U.S.-controlled NATO bloc and U.S. military personnel out of France and has all U.S. bases in the country dismantled. The U.S. press cried out in alarm that the French action foretold that no U.S. base in the world would be "permanent." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's armed invasion of Czechoslovakia last August, with the tacit consent of U.S. imperialism, and the vicious development of the financial crisis in the capitalist world have further sharpened the contradictions within the imperialist bloc. U.S. imperialism has landed itself in unprecedented isolation in the world.

It is against such a background that Nixon's highranking brain-truster and senior foreign-policy adviser Henry Kissinger had to confess in an article on U.S. foreign policy that U.S. imperialism's counter - revolutionary "global strategy" to dominate the world has met with disastrous failure. He lamented, "The United States is no longer in a position to operate programs globally" and "the U.S. can no longer impose its preferred solution." In the best of circumstances, he said, the new administration will be beset by crises.



BURMA'S WELL-TRAINED PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES ARE READY AT ALL TIMES TO WIPE OUT THE ENEMY

PERU... BITING THE HAND THAT STARVES YOU

The Peruvian military junta that rumbled into power last October did so behind U.S.-supplied tanks and with U.S.-trained Rangers -- Rangers who prided themselves on destroying a Peruvian guerrilla campaign in 1965. They packed President Belaunde Terry off to Argentina and held his cabinet under house arrest. Armando Villanueva, head of the left-liberal opposition party -- APRA -- was also placed under house arrest. Student demonstrators were put down with American weapons.

And yet, it is this same military regime which has expropriated about $200 million worth of property from Standard Oil of New Jersey, fired on U.S. tuna boats which penetrated what it claims to be Peruvian waters, and caused the first eruption on the outwardly calm complexion of the New Nixon Era. The Nixon administration moves as ponderously as a prehistoric beast. It didn't even manage to send Nelson Rockefeller (who should be interested in the Standard Oil scene) down to do an efficiency study of the back-yard colonies, before Peru caused trouble.

The Peruvian debate over Standard Oil's International Petroleum Company (IPC) -- which was resolved by the seizure of Standard's property -- is over 40 years old. IPC's holdings in Peru fell into four major areas: the LaBrea-Parinas fields, the Talara refinery, an extensive marketing network, and a half share in the Lobitos oil fields.

The controversy has centered on the LaBrea-Parinas fields in northern Peru, which IPC bought in 1924 from a British concern. The Peruvian constitution reserves all subsurface rights to the state, but the British holdings had predated the constitution. Nationalists argued that IPC never had a right to such subsurface ownership and therefore owed the Peruvian government for all the oil taken from the LaBrea-Parinas fields in the last 45 years (about $690.5 million worth). IPC, of course, recognized no such dept.

Last October the then-President Belaunde Terry was going to give an operating concession to IPC in place of outright ownership of the property and ignore the debt. Instead, he was sent to Argentina. The military junta that replaced him, under the leadership of General Juan Valasco Alvarado, nationalized the LaBrea-Parinas fields and the Talara refinery and industrial complex. IPC, however, was permitted to continue marketing the Talara oil.

On Jan. 8, the state-owned oil enterprise, Empresa Petrolera Fiscal, submitted a $15 million bill to IPC for the oil it had supplied from the nationalized Talara refinery to IPC's markets. IPC said it would not pay until compensation was made for its nationalized property and, furthermore, that the bill was exorbitantly high and would cause IPC to operate at a loss. The junta, realizing that IPC didn't get the point, nationalized the remaining IPC operations and ordered about 20 of its American officials to leave the country.

NIXON'S PREDICAMENT

All the while, the junta is maintaining the rather ambiguous ideological position that the IPC case is a separate situation and that Peru welcomes foreign investment. But needless to say, the U.S. government doesn't take an ambiguous position regarding $200 million worth of U.S. property. The move has created a certain frenzy among New Nixonists.

Senator Long from oil-rich Louisiana was moved by the Peruvian events to read an IPC advertisement into the Congressional Record, and, in a short introduction to the ad, recalled such ghosts of U.S. capital as Abdul Nasser. But we can expect more than the customary boredom by Congressional diatribes the United States is required by law to take action on seizures of U.S. property within six months unless compensation is made.

The law is the Hickenlooper Amendment to the U.S. Foreign Aid Act. It was proposed by ex-Senator Bourke Hickenlooper of Iowa in response to the Cuban expropriations. It requires suspension of U.S. foreign aid to any country which takes U.S. property without paying for it. At the time the amendment was passed, the United States was parcelling out the sugar quotas it had taken away from Cuba. Peru was one of the Major beneficiaries of the new sugar quotas; and just to prove that chickens come home to roost, it is now Peru which is threatened with suspension of the sugar quotas.

The sugar quota suspension is the most serious threat the United States has at its disposal, short of military intervention. It involves 450,000 tons of sugar, more than half of the total Peruvian production and the sugar industry employs some 30,000 workers. The quota insures a U.S. price of 7 cents a pound as compared with an international price of 2 cents a pound. Last year that meant about $65 million for Peru.



All Power to the People

The quota system provides an easy way for the U.S. to create dependency in Third World sugar countries, and American sugar processors simply pass on the additional cost to the American consumer -- so nobody corporate gets hurt. Peru was scheduled to receive $12 million in aid loans and $5 million in Export-Import Bank loans from the U.S. in 1969. They have been held back.

PERU REFUSES TO GIVE UP

The junta so far has refused to cry "Uncle." One of its more humorous plans is to invoke Article 16 of the charter of the Organization of the American states which states that no member of the OAS may apply measures of economic coercion to force the will of another and obtain any advantage from such a member. It seems doubtful, however, that the OAS would take a stand against Uncle Sam. In a more serious vein, the junta says that it isn't interested in aid with strings and the statement has some force behind it. Peru turned down $15 million in U.S. aid in 1967 because it felt that the accompanying austerity measures were too severe. As for the sugar quota crisis, a suspension would hurt Peru badly, but sugar comprises only 10% of her agricultural exports, and she can survive.

Perhaps most important are the two trump cards Peru has up her sleeve: the junta has just negotiated diplomatic recognition with the Soviet Union and is presently hosting a Soviet trade delegation; and, the junta is reserving the additional option of more expropriations.

A few likely prospects are Xerox Corp., International Telephone and Telegraph (which owns the Peruvian Telephone Co.) and Cerro Corporation (which has vast mineral deposits in Peru). Cerro's Peruvian operations in 1966 accounted for 43,750 tons of copper, 97,500 tons of lead, 67,650 tons of zinc, 19,900 ounces of silver and 1,650,000 pounds of bismuth. Cerro is also one of the largest landholders in Peru, and a month ago -- maybe an indication of things to come -- the Peruvian government took over 18 cattle ranches from Cerro comprising 407,866 acres. Cerro is being compensated for the expropriation. An interesting sidelight on the Cerro scene is the fact that Cerro is currently holding merger discussions with Standard Oil of Indiana (a nephew of the nationalized company). It is the fourth merger discussion that Cerro has had in the last two years. The others have all been discouraged by the government on anti-trust grounds, and this one has been postponed pending further evaluations of the Peruvian situation. Cerro is a case study of a corporation which has mainly one line -- minerals -- and is being forced to merge or die. It is finding that, because easily accessible mineral resources are being depleted, it will need access to larger capital resources, and so it must be swallowed.

CRACKS IN THE EMPIRE

Peru's economic situation has been typical for Latin America. She has been seriously strapped by a balance of payments problem which is simple enough: world prices for her export commodities (sugar, cotton and fish) have been dropping, while the prices of imports (like U.S. machinery) have been rising. In 1967 this forced a devaluation in the exchange rate from 27 to 42 soles per dollar and serious inflation. The rest is simple too: foreign-based corporations take profits out of the country rather than leaving them there to finance the national budget, not to speak of their tendency to deform development by plugging valuable resources into operations like saran wrap plants.

October 1966 Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. **That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.** Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. **But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.**

RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY** throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. **CENTRAL COMMITTEE** members, **CENTRAL STAFFS**, and **LOCAL STAFFS**, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY** will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.**

Every member of the party must know these verbatum by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY.**

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be **DRUNK** while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY**, and meetings of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.**
5. No party member will **USE, POINT, or FIRE** a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the **BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.**
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while **DRUNK** or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or **BLACK** people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested **BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS** will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY** must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. **COMMUNICATIONS** — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY** must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the **CENTRAL COMMITTEE** of the **BLACK PANTHER PARTY.**
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
BY THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.

8 POINTS OF ATTENTION

1) Speak politely.
2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
3) Return everything you borrow.
4) Pay for anything you damage.
5) Do not hit or swear at people.
6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
7) Do not take liberties with women.
8) If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE

1) Obey orders in all your actions.
2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.



SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself.

". . . Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.' (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Sherwin puts it:

". . . The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedoms, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

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INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

I would like to join the efforts of all those who are working to defend Eldridge Cleaver from political persecution.

Please add my name to the list of sponsors of the International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver.

I enclose ____________ to assist the legal expenses and the Committee's campaign to publicize and promote Eldridge Cleaver's defense.

I can volunteer some time to help the Committee ____________

Name ____________ Date ____________

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ICDEC, 495 Beach Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94133

Robert Scheer, Director

BLACK PEOPLE: KEEP YOUR GUNS

CALIFORNIA AND FEDERAL GUN LAWS

This article is to serve as a guide for the members of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY and is not to be construed as a substitute for competent legal counsel.

12001 -- A concealable firearm is any firearm having a barrel less than 12 inches in length.

12025 -- Any person caught with a concealable firearm CONCEALED on their person or within any vehicle is guilty of a misdemeanor.

12026 -- No license is required for any citizen 18 years or over to keep a legal weapon in their home or place of business. (Some weapons require federal registration.)

12027 -- Persons exempt from Section 12025 includes members of any club or organization organized for the purpose of practicing shooting at targets upon established target ranges, whether public or private, while such members are using firearms upon such target ranges, or while going to and from such ranges.

12031 -- Except as provided in subdivision (b), every person who carries a loaded firearm on his person or in a vehicle while in any public place or on any public street in any incorporated city or in any public place or on any public street in a prohibited area of unincorporated territory is guilty of a misdemeanor.

(b) Persons who are using target ranges for the purpose of practice shooting with a firearm, or who are members of shooting clubs while hunting on the premises for such clubs.

(c) In order to determine whether or not a firearm is loaded, pigs are authorized to examine any firearm carried by anyone on his person or in a vehicle while in any public place. Refusal to allow a pig to inspect a firearm constitutes probable cause for arrest.

(h) Nothing in this section is intended to preclude the carrying of any loaded firearm, under circumstances where it would be otherwise be lawful, by a person who reasonably believes that the person or property of himself or another is in immediate danger and that the carrying of such a weapon is necessary for the preservation of such person or property.

(i) Nothing in this section shall prevent any person from having a loaded weapon, if it is otherwise lawful, at his place of residence, including any temporary residence or campsite.

12552 -- Every person who furnishes any firearm, air gun, or gas-operated gun, designed to fire a bullet, pellet or metal projectile, to any minor under the age of 18 years, without the expressed or implied permission of the parent or legal guardian of the manor, is guilty of a misdemeanor.

12560 -- Any felon who owns, has in his possession or under his custode or control any firearm is punishable by imprisonment in the State Prison not exceeding 15 years, or in a county jail not exceeding one year and/or by a fine not exceeding $500.

FEDERAL LAW

(1) Title X of the Civil Rights Act provides that anyone who demonstrates, manufacturers, transports, or teaches the use of firearms, explosives, or incendiary devices for use in riots or civil disorders may be imprisoned for up to 5 years and fined $10,000.

(2) Title VII of the Crime Control Act states that felons, veterans discharged other than honorably, mental incompetent, aliens illegally in the United States, or former U.S. citizens who have renounced their citizenship, who possess, receive, or transport interstate any firearm may be punished by a fine of $10,000.

(3) The National Firearm Act requires that a $200tax be paid on each transfer of any fully automatic firearm, rifles with barrels under 16 inches, shotguns with barrels under 18 inches, any rifle or shotgun under 26 inches overall, or silencers. The Act also requires that the $200 tax be paid on the making of any firearm that meets the specifications listed above.

THE FOLLOWING LAWS BECAME EFFECTIVE ON DECEMBER 16, 1968

(1) Only a licensed manufacturer or dealer may ship or transport interstate any firearm (other than a rifle or a shotgun) or any ammunition to anyone but a licensed dealer or manufacturer. (Licensed importers may also ship and receive all firearms and ammunition interstate.)

(2) No one but a licensed dealer, manufacturer, or importer may receive in his state of residence any firearm (other than a rifle or shotgun) that has been obtained by him outside his state of residence.

(3) Only a licensed dealer, manufacturer, or importer may give, trade, transfer, transport, or deliver any firearm (other than a rifle or shotgun to anyone living in another state.)

(4) To receive or transport into any state a firearm that cannot be legally purchased in that state is a federal offense.

(5) Only a licensed dealer, importer, or manufacturer may ship or transport in interstate commerce any fully automatic weapon or any sawed-off shotgun or rifle.

This article is not intended as a substitute for competent legal counsel.

POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes, you should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so.) But then do so, and at all time remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probably cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls — one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 845-0103 (845-0104), and the Party will post bail if possible

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsmen's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time e?ds on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do no' have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of ydur county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.

NEEDED: TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT

MINISTER OF DEFENSE, HUEY P. NEWTON SAYS:
"THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN THE MAN'S TECHNOLOGY."

BUT TO MOST EFFECTIVELY COMBAT THE INJUSTICES OF THE PIG-STRUCTURE, THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE SHOULD LEAD THEM TO DEVELOP TECHNOLOGY GREATER THAN THE "MAN'S!" THEN WE WILL MINIMIZE OUR LOSSES WHILE WE WAGE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE)

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND ALLIES IN THE REVOLUTION – WE NEED ALL TYPES OF

TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT:

FOR DEFENSE
FOR FINANCING
FOR OFFICE WORK
FOR TRANSPORTATION
FOR HEALTH AND FIRST AID

INTERESTED PARTIES SHOULD ADDRESS CORRESPONDENCE TO:

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126



MINISTER OF DEFENSE

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BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

OAKLAND, California -- The National Advisory Cabinet to the Black Panther Party is working with and for St. Augustine Episcopal Church's program: breakfast in the morning for Oakland's school children in the black community.

All children in grammar schools and growing young adults in Junior High Schools can receive free, FULL BREAKFASTS in the mornings before they go to school. The first of these breakfasts will exist one hour before school hours at St. Augustine's Church, 27th and West, and the Black Community Center, at 42nd and Grove Streets, EVERY SCHOOL MORNING.

The National Advisory Cabinet and church members are calling on all mothers and others who want to work with this revolutionary program of making sure that our young have full stomachs before going to school. The schools and the Board of Education should have had this program instituted a long time ago. How can our children learn anything when most of their stomachs are empty? Black people in the Black Community-mothers, welfare recipients, grandmothers, guardians, and others who are trying to raise children in the black community where racists oppress us - are asked to come forth to work and support this needed program. Soul food: grits, eggs, bread, and meat for the stomachs is where it's at when it comes to properly preparing our children for education. LET'S DO IT NOW. Support this community program.

Those who want to volunteer their work every morning or every other morning can come to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS at 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley or contact Father Neil at these numbers: 534-0184, 893-1016. Interested persons may also contact Ruth Beckford Smith at 893-8211 or sign up with other community peoples and citizens for full stomachs and better education of black children.

We urge as many mothers and other black citizens as possible to unite with this COMMUNITY-BLACK PANTHER PROGRAM. We are also asking all businesses throughout the black community to donate the necessary food and utensils to prepare the foods for our children. Call the Black Panther Office at 845-0103 or 845-0104. Everything of value donated to BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN is tax deductable. Items or funds may be sent c/o St. Augustine Episcopal Church. Just let us know, both black and white communities and citizens, what you can donate in money, time, etc.

Thank you

BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

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Black Liberation Publishers Fill the Educational Gap



Sid Walton

After more than a year of preparation and development, the book that thousands of people across the nation and around the world have awaited is finally ready to go onto the market.

Black Liberation Publishers proudly announces its "Collector's Edition" of The Black Curriculum-Developing a Program in Afro-American Studies by Sidney F. Walton, Jr. This "Collector's Edition" is being printed in a limited quantity (2000 copies to be exact) to finance the production of the "People's Edition" which will sell at popular prices that the masses can afford.

This first printing is rather rough expense-wise, but overcoming the economic effects of an oppressive white-controlled press is also rather rough expense-wise. Black Liberation Publishers urges you to have schools, colleges, churches, and other institutions buy the "Collector's Addition" which will be a collector's item in that it will pave the way for development of a Black Publishing company which will gear itself to the concept of Black COOPERATIVES which support Black **Collective** efforts rather than addressing itself to white-racist designed Black Capitalism which really is an attempt to further the process of divide and conquer among Black people and other ethnic minority peoples of the Third World.

Black Liberation Publishers was born on March 7, 1968 when a representative from a white publishing company became the third publisher to inform the author, Mr. Sid Walton, that it could not guarantee him that Black people would be employed along every step in the decision-making process related to the production of the book as well as having Black people employed to do the actual production work of the book.

Black Liberation Publishers represents a coalition of efforts of Black people with various skills in the graphic arts, i.e., presswork, lithography, camera work, etc. Thus, this book reflects a **cooperative** venture with Black people making the decisions concerning the actual production of **The Black Curriculum** book.

Black Liberation Publishers refuses to let white publishers continue the exploitation of Black writers. We are trying to keep the money in the Black community. It is our policy to use income from the sale of books to either purchase equipement which will enable us to mass produce materials and thus, be able to eventually reduce our cost per unit produced, or to apply the income to the production of other books and materials which will lead to the liberation of Black people and other members of the Third World.

We encourage revolutionary writers who have written solution oriented materials to send us copies of manuscript for consideration.

Some Issues and Questions that are dealt with and Answered in **The Black Curriculum**

1. People at Merritt College said it would take three years to get a transfer level course in Negro History accepted by the University of California. Sid Walton wasn't about to wait three years, so he got it done in **one month and eleven days. You need to know how. It's in the book!**
2. Merritt College was the first junior college in America to offer a program **and a degree** in Afro-American Studies.
3. Sid Walton has written a "no bullshit," down to earth, "nitty-gritty," document which will change education across the face of this racist nation! Once the masses get this book, no school or college will ever be the same! **You need to know how! It's in the book!**
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5. It has been stated that "Without brain power, Black Power is only skin deep." **The Black Curriculum** develops the necessary brain power to make Black Power a reality.
6. Are you tired of meaningless rhetoric?
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11. Do you want meaningful answers for whites who ask, "What can I do"?
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Order your copy of The Black Curriculum: Developing a Program in Afro-American Studies by Sidney F. Walton, Jr.

Introduction: The Case for Black Separatism by Robert S. Browne
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